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"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecá (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlahomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to seafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

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Anecuilco (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[a] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[b] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[c] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[d] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[e] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[a] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[b] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[e] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

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Coyucac is probably not the Coyuca de Benítez of today, but the one described by Xuarez as twenty-five leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and adjacent to Axapoteca[7] (which in turn is adjacent to Xolochiuyan and Panotlan, *q.v.*).[8] This is the only Coyuca he describes in his report on his tour of the coast. Today it is called Coyuquilla.

Nochcoc is certainly the present Nuxco, also described by Xuarez.[9]

Panotlan is mentioned by Xuarez both as "Panutla" and as "Pamutla."[10] He places it at thirty leagues from the Villa and one league from the sea, confining with Çihautlan and Nochcoc. This rules out the present Pantla, west of the Río Ixtapa.

Petlatlan is one of the few surviving names, appearing today as Petatlán. It is given by Xuarez as twenty leagues from the Villa.[11]

Xihuacan has vanished. Xuarez places it nineteen leagues from the Villa and adjacent to Petlatlan and Cihuatanejo—both well-established places. He adds, "tiene en su termino una laguna de mucha pezqueria y donde se haze sal en cantidad."[12] This salty lagoon suggests the Salinas de Potosí, southwest of Petatlán on the "Millionth Map."

Xolochiuhyan, described by Xuarez as "Solochuca" and also as "Cholochuca"[13] and placed twenty-two leagues from the Villa, near the sea, has become Jolochuca of today, another of the towns of this province which may be definitely localized.

According to the writer's chronological study and the "Relación de Zacatula," Xolochiuhyan was the scene of Ahuizotl's first breakthrough to the coast and became his "frontier"—against whom, is doubtful.

Yztapan is given as the name of two towns by Xuarez. One[14] belonged to the encomendero, Anton Sánchez the younger, and was seventeen leagues from the Villa. The other, belonging to His Majesty, was thirteen leagues from the Villa,[15] close to the sea, and two leagues from the "Puerto de Çiguatanejo." Thus the pueblo belonging to

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 900.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 899.
[9] He gives it as 33 leagues from the Villa. *PNE*, 1: No. 903.
[10] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 900 and 902.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 896.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 895.
[13] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 897 and 898.
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 879.
[15] *PNE*, 1: No. 892.

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● 632 Sánchez was right at the Bay of Cihuatenejo, and it appears there in
131 a manuscript map of *circa* 1760.[19] The other pueblo, His Majesty's, appears on the "Guerrero State Map" of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, being situated on the Río Rincon. By means of the Salinas de Camotlán, which appear on both this latter map and the "Millionth Map," we see that this Río Rincon is the Río Ixtapan of the "Millionth Map," though the pueblo is omitted here. It is this Ixtapan belonging to His Majesty which has been selected as probably identical with the pre-Hispanic town, both because it gave its name to the Río and Punta de Iztapa (a), a promontory which may be found on most maps, and because it was reserved for His Majesty, a fact implying a special desirability and importance.

Çacatulan lay one league south of modern Zacatula, near the mouth
[101] of the Río de las Balsas. (On the accompanying map, it appears too far east.)

Çihuatlan (Çiguatlan de Salzedo and Panotlan), which gave its name to the province, is missing from all available maps. It might have been any of three vanished towns, but the one which seems most probable is Çiguatlan de Salzedo. This lay thirty leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and bordering Pamutla and Nusco—the modern Nuxco, near Tecpan. Çiguatlan and Panutla, or Pamutla, lay on the same river five leagues from Tecpan." Judging by the distances east of Zacatula assigned to other localizable towns (Jolochuca, 22; Coyuca—Coyuquilla—28; Nuxco, 33; and Tecpan, 35), this river is the modern San Luís. Çiguatlan de Salzedo may be San Luís de la Loma today. In any case, according to the relación of Zacatula, Çiguatlan was divided from Panotlan only by a river ("entre estos dos pueblos está el río"). For that reason, it has been given the same number, 9.

Çiguatlan de Salzedo lay right in the middle of the province, which is the writer's reason for identifying it as the old cabecera, despite the claims of two remoter homonyms.[20]

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[19] Bancroft Library, University of California, MS map F 1226 176–, G. 9. The author is Santos Alonso Guerra.

[20] "Relación de Zacatula," *Tlalocan*, 2: 261; *PNE* (*Suma*), 1: No. 902.

[20] The other possibilities are Çigua (*PNE*, 1: No. 864) and Çiguatlan de Su Magestad (*PNE*, 1: No. 883). Çigua extended between Zacatula and the sea. Çiguatlan de Su Magestad lay seventeen leagues from the Villa and four from the sea. (It bordered

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[96] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[97] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetiztla and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[98] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[99]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Azochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyuela and Piquilda [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çigua are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çigualan de su Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanacio itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[96] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[97] "'Yentes que binieron de algun lugar de mucho hierro' o 'yentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepoztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[98] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[99] In a town called Chiconopoc, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

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635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[77] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[78] Tetela (5),[79] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[80] Totoltepec (10);[81] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[82]

[175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

630 *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[83] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[84] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[85] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[86] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

[77] "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).
[78] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."
[79] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."
[80] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernase."
[81] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."
[82] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Montecçuma."
[83] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.
[84] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.
[85] *PNE*, 6: 113: "Ell otro tiempo estubo poblado en un peñol ques enespunable y muy fuerte."
[86] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[a] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[b] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[c] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[d] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[e] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[f]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[g] Cocolan,[h] Mayanala (14),[i] and Huitzoco.[j] Since

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.
[b] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[c] "Estos couixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).
[d] *GPM*, p. 105.
[e] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).
[f] *PNE*, 5: 249.
[g] *PNE*, 5: 86.
[h] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[i] *GPM*, p. 98.
[j] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."
[k] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[1] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zoinpanco,[2] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[3]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[4] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[5] Ychcateopan,[6] Oztoma,[7] Totoltetec,[8] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[9] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlacheo.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[10]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[11] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[12]

635 131 632 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of frontier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[13] Alahuiztlan

[1] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[2] *PNE*, 6: 315.
[3] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[4] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[5] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[6] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[7] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[8] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[9] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[10] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[11] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[12] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[13] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha guerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Moetzuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

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had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list.

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c] [712]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18r) as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d] [712]

Cuẽçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan [648]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese xeme en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espunable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimosexto Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendricks, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentavan los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan guerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la guerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan guerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan guerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinterland, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[a] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[b]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17r) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[c] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[d]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

402 bundles[e] of mantles *colchadas*[f]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[f]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[f]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[f]
400 bundles of little white mantles[f]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[f]
22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[g]

FOOD

4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[g]
200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[a] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[b] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[c] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[d] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 721.

[e] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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651
301
314
323
325

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[69]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[70]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[71]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[72]

Oclatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[73] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[74] 386

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[75] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[76]

[69] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[70] "Cada vn año vnas esmeraldas berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[71] "A Motecçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en reconocimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[72] "Era de Motecçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[73] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[74] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[75] "No llevava tributo por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que allí tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas vezes del no cobrauan presente á mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' ques bruñ" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

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Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified."

Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves." These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed."

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapā, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.
We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

" "Motecçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

" "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est[os] le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

" "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acamilyxtlahuacan apparently underwent the same sort of abbreviation which made "Amacusac" out of near-by "Amacoztitlan" in Quauhnahuac Province.[a] 632

Teotliztacan suffered the fate of other names bearing the prefix *teo-* from *teotl* ("divine, godly"), a sacrilege to Spanish ears. The partly synonymous *huey* ("great") supplanted the earlier prefix here.[b] In 1581, Teulistaca and Hueyztaca were used alternately;[c] since then, the name has atrophied unrecognizably to Huiztac.

Tetenanco. Although there is no modern mention of the town, this is presumably the Real and Pueblo of Tenango which existed close to the west of colonial Taxco. Its borders are given as Nochtepec, Ichcateopan, Tasco, Acamistlauacan, Coatlan, and Teticpac, which enables us to place it.[d] And the name Tenanco—often interchangeable with this common place name—appears in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 7', as a conquest of Moctezuma I, who was prominent in the reduction of this area.

It may be remarked that both *Tenan*guillo and Cacalo*tenango* lie within the area mentioned.

Tlachco was not the modern Taxco de Alarcón, but somewhat south and lower, the present Taxco Viejo.

Tzicapuçalco was the same town as the present Ixcapuzalco, we learn from a relación of 1569. Anciently it bore still another name, "Pindexo," perhaps applied by the aboriginal Mazatecos who were established in the Chontal region here.[e]

Çacualpan was a conquest of Itzcoatl, according to the historical [175] section of the *Codex Mendocino*, and, as Itzacualpa, figures among the subject towns which received Ahuizotl after the conquest of Teloloapan (Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528).

[a] On location, see *GPM*, p. 178; *PNE*, 1: No. 37 and 6: 269.
[b] *PNE*, 6: 270, has a note on such changes.
[c] The latter in *PNE*, 1: No. 273, which gives its boundaries, also given in *GPM*, p. 174.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 671: "junto a Tasco"; *ibid.*, 6: 266: "a la parte del occidente"; *ibid.*, 6: 275.
[e] *PNE*, 6: 94, which also provides its location. *Pindexo* is said to be the name of the ndaxin tree.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero,"[a] a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[b] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[c] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[d] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
[248] 400 bundles of women's clothing**
[214] 1,206 bundles[e] of little mantles of soft henequen**
2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[651 632]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:[635 114] [128]

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[632 175 103]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicána* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[197 101]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[a] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[a] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cozian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Montecçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veyntez dias."

[b] "Relación de Sultepec": "heran subjetos á los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temaxcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[c] *PNE*, 7: 10: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi.

[d] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[a] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[b]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[c] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[a] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[b] In Tlachinoltícpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[c] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de henequen, que se hazе de un arbol que en llama maguey, y dentro cargo una que sembo-

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayácatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 [197] *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various [763] [103] etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] ... because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7.
[101] See p. 23 above.
[102] *PNE*, 7: 4.
[103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.
[104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[28] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[28] *PNF* 7: 16.

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two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[106] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacā, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[107]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çonpahuacan is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation. The glyph may be read either way; however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Malinalco was a great religious center. It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[106] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.

[107] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

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651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—If we allot the foregoing equally between the two towns forming this province, we find that each must have contributed as much in produce as was collected from the whole province of Tlachco, in which there were nine towns, and that each must likewise have paid the equivalent of nearly one-third of the tribute in mantles collected from Tlachco Province.

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MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acaxochic, 6	Santa Fe
Ameyalco, 8	[No change]
Coatepec, 14	Coatepec Bateas
Chichicquautla, 4	Xochiquauhtla
Huizquilocan, 5	Huixquilucan
Quahuacan, 1	Cahuacan
Quauhpanoayā, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecpan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tlalatlauhco, 13	Xalatlaco

Two other towns have been found elsewhere: Huitziçilapa (3) and Tlalachco (?) (2).

Two towns of the tribute list have not been found: Chapolmoloyā and Ocotepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

● 632 131 *Acaxochic,* "que ahora es Santa Fé," is located on the authority of Tezozomoc.[4] It lies southwest of Tacubaya.

Chichicquautla has become the modern Xochiquautla, between Huixquilucan and Toluca. The boundaries of "Chichiguautla" given in a sixteenth-century document confirm this identification.[5]

Huitzilçilapa, under the transitional form of "Vçiçilapa," is referred to in the sixteenth century as being adjacent to Tacuba and as having a barrio called Tamimilulpa[6]—which description applies perfectly to the Huitzilapan of the 1937 map.

Quauhpanoayan has vanished from the map. It was divided between two hills, one section being called San Joan Baptista and the other San Francisco. It was a league from Atlapulco (11), a league and a half from Capulhuac (12), "y de los otros dos á media legua." As one of "los otras dos" is known to have been Ocoyacac (10), Quauhpanoayan may be placed with fair accuracy.[7]

Tecpan has long since disappeared from the map. In the late sixteenth century, according to the 1579 map of Ortelius, it lay south of Teocalhuiacan and northeast of Mimimiyauuapan [*sic*]. Ortelius gives

[4] *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 530.
[5] *PNE,* 1: No. 113, places it seven leagues from México and touching the jurisdictions of Tacuba, Toluca, and "Vçiçilapa."
[6] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[7] *GPM,* p. 232.

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the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[8] Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli*, "sand," and *tlalli*, "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are:

Atlapulco, 11
Capulhuac, 12
Coatepec, 14
Cuauximalpan, 7
Chichicquauhtla, 4
Huizquilocan, 5
Tlalatlauhco, 13

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[8] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[9] Cf. preceding note.
[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 561.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)**[30]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[31] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 114 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpā, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan. *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[2]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28' of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[3]

[2] *PNE,* 1: No. 1.

[3] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepesic ce comẽdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlazpan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchior. nuñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suxeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468).

[30] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[27]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[28]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[27] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[28] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[39]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[40]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[41]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[39] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[40] *GPM*, p. 263.
[41] *PNE*, 3: 33, n°1.

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Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[32] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula,* and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[33] and Zimapan (12).[34]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography,* p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[35] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[32] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[33] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí,* I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago teluçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tleculutl ycatzia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain,* Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE,* 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[34] *PNE,* 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[35] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[36] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[37] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[38] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[39] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[40] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[41]

[36] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[37] Cf. n. 35 above.
[38] *PNE,* 6: 201.
[39] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[40] Corrected from 400.
[41] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[42]

12. Axocopan

Sources of the Map

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27r.[43] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below:

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquiahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayā, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpā, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpā, 10	Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[42] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[43] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atenco*, now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[a] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[b] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[c] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[d] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[e] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the following towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[f]

[a] *GPM*, p. 185.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 36.
[d] *PNE*, 6: 203.
[e] *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.
[f] *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metztitlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[30] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses."[31] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[32]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[30] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[31] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[32] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[83]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[84]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[[28]] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocā, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyā, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists
131 another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[83] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."
[84] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called Atucpan.[80] Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of the towns against which that state made war.

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec[81] is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.[82] It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,[83] two long leagues southeast of Axocopan[84] and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.[85]

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan[86] and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.[87] It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.[88]

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.[89]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitlapilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was predominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.[90]

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bordered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.[91] To the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

[80] *PNE*, 6: 24 and 35.
[81] The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.
[82] Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.
[83] *GPM*, p. 188.
[84] *PNE*, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.
[85] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[86] *PNE*, 6: 15.
[87] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[88] *PNE*, 3: 42.
[89] *PNE*, 6: 27.
[90] In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Tolnacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (*PNE*, 6: 24).
[91] "Relación de Meztitlan."

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[67] as did Tequixquiac[68] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[69]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[263 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[70]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[71]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[72]

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[67] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[68] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[69] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[70] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[71] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[72] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 114 [31] represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1 Ojitipa de Mirador

[651] Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[3] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[4]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[5]

635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[3] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tambolon"—now a rancho of Valles.
[4] Meade, *La Huasteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[5] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI:275.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

25. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54r). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

● 632 ***Coxcatecutlan*** is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communications with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 426.
[10] "Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 293, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla"[33] speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[34]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[35]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[36] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tzicoac* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 183–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tzicoac* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

16. Tuchpa

Sources of the Map

635 114 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[28] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Miahuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

Remarks on Towns

632 131 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (2), according to Lehmann.[29] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[30]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[31]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[28] See Introduction, p. 7.

[29] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (2), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[30] Lehmann, vi. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[31] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por montecçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que montecçuma naçiese ni oredase este rreyno [illegible] estauan estos yndios subjetos al padre de montecçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guierra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron donde á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron bramente á montecçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[88]

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[89] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[90]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzicoac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, especially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[88]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[88]
400 bundles of loincloths[88]
808 bundles[91] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[88]

[88] RHE, 1: 487.
[89] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[90] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[91] Corrected from 800.

[1] [p. 58.—Analyst] [2] [p. 56.—Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.[a]

17. Atlan

Sources of the Map

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.[b] In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.[c] Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."[d]

Nature of the Province

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two.

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "...otra capitania...a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte...."[e]

[a] RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."
[b] Cf. Malinalco, above.
[c] *FNE*, 3: 97.
[d] *ENE*, 8: 160.
[e] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

[29] CLOTHING**

800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles" of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

[28] OTHER GOODS*

1,200 bundles of cotton

18. TLAPACOYAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xilozochitlan, 6	Elozochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan. To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

" Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación.[a]

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"[b] finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were important towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.[c] Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."[d] The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.[e]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces.

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone called Totonacapan.

[a] RHE, 1:481: "tenian — governador antiguamente puesto por montecuma."
[b] *ENE*, 8:159.
[c] Christensen, "El Teponaxtli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3:179–180.
[d] RHE, 1:480: "son yndios muy tontos ynclinados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferente de la mexicana."
[e] See the *proceso* of the *causa* of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3:209–215.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[80]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[81]

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

[80] RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
[81] RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[a] and seventeen leagues from México.[b] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[c] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[d]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[e]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiquity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún comments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[f] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[g] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[h] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atotonilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich mantles[i]
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen[i]
4 warriors' costumes with shields[i]

[a] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[c] *GPM*, p. 250.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[e] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuiquiluca [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[f] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[g] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

●632
651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.*

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114 The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco,
[28] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacā, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucā, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapā, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

* *PNE*, 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seysçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Tepetlaoztoc, 18	Tepetlaoxtoc
Teçoyucã, 17	Tezoyuca
Tiçayucã, 8	Tizayuca
Tlaquilpã, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tonanytla, 12	Tonanitla

Various pueblos of this crowded province remain to be located:

Ahuatepec	Quauhyocan
Ameyalco	Tepetlapã
Calyahualco	Tiçatepec
Contlan	Tlachyahualco
Quauhq̃mecã	Totolçinco

Yxquemecã

Certain other pueblos may be added to the province on the basis of other documents:

Acolman (a)	Pachuca, 1
Coatepec Chalco, 22	Teotihuacan, 13
Chicualoapan, 21	Tepepulco, 7
Chimalhuacantoyac, 20	Tetlyztaca, 6
Otompan, 24	Tezontepec, 4

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acolman (a) was independent until conquered by Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco.[a]

Acolhuacan is something of a problem. The present paper is hardly the place to pass upon the truth of reports that Texcoco, capital of the Acolhuaque, paid tribute to the Mexica as did any other vassal. But a choice is imperative here: does the glyph which is annotated Acol*man* and Acol*huacan* represent Acolhuacan Texcoco?

The answer is a certain no. It is doubtful that Texcoco ever paid the famous tribute, in the first place. The other member of the Triple Alliance, Tlacopan, does not figure as a tributary anywhere in the *Matricula*, and it was less powerful than the domain of Nezahualpilli. The *Mendocino* interpreter has not written Texcoco, nor does the glyph correspond to those commonly used for Texcoco.[a] And the contradictory *Matricula* legend has been written over, as if to avoid

[a] "Nesahualcoyosin casique de Texcuco, los tiranizo" (*FNE*, 6: 211).
(1942), fig. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 114 one interpretation, at least: the word "tetzcocatl" has been altered in two places to read "acolmecatl"; that is, "men of Texcoco" has been erased. Further evidence that Acolhuacan was neither Acolman nor Texcoco may be found in the lists of conquests in which Huitzihuitl and Itzcoatl participated.

If the glyph does not represent Acolhuacan Texcoco, what Acolhuacan does it mean? Discarding a vague possibility that it may be Acolman, site of the great monastery,[a] the writer prefers to follow the "Relación de Coatepec-Chalco," which informs us explicitly that Acolhuacan is a former name of Coatlichan.[b]

632 The *Mendocino* adds the name of the tribute collector, or "calpixqui," to the place name: it was (rather suspiciously) "Acolmecatl."

Aztaquemeca (not on the map) lay athwart Cortés' escape route after the Noche Triste. His itinerary, as given in Sahagún and in the "Lienzo de Tlaxcala," reads Tepotzotlan–Aztaquemecan–Zacapulco–Tonanixco, and finally, friendly Hueyotlipan. Aztaquemeca may be the Ixtacamecan Santo Domingo, half a league from Otumba (24).[c]

Coatepec Chalco bore a "very special enmity" toward Chalco, to the south,[d] which is enough to align it on our map with the province of Acolhuacan.

Chicualoapan "and its subjects were subject to the caciques and lords of the pueblo and cabecera of Coatlychan."[e]

Chimalhuacantoyac had once belonged to the ex-province of Chalco, but was annexed by "the province of Aculhuacan, which is Coatlychan."[f]

Epaçoyucan, which can be found on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas, was earlier called Tomazquitlac. It belonged to Acolhuacan from a very early date.[g]

[a] For this possibility, see *PNE*, 6: 213, n. 2.

[b] *PNE*, 6: 80: "Coatlychan, que en aquel tiempo se dezia Aculhuacan ...." See Chimalhuacantoyac, below.

[c] *PNE*, 3: 83 and n. 1; Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras historicas* (1892), I: 304, "Azquemeca," near Axapuxco.

[d] *PNE*, 6: 51: "tubo muy particular enemystad con los de la probinçia de Chalco, a los quales dió muchas guerras."

[e] *PNE*, 6: 82–83. See Acolhuacan, above.

[f] *PNE*, 6: 66: "heran las tierras de los yndios de la provinçia de Chalco, y al presente [1579] este pueblo y sus subjetos estan en la comarca y provinçia de Aculhuacan, que es Coatlychan."

[g] "Eran del señorio de texcuco como derienden de los chichimecos de texcuco siempre reconozian de sus mayores que llaman el reyno de acolhuacan" (RHE, 1: 141–142).

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Matixco (Maquixco), southwest of Teotihuacan, possesses a homonym, Maquixco Santa Maria, northeast of the same center. Either one of these may be the *Matricula* town. The choice which has been made is frankly arbitrary. 632

Otompan, now Otumba, was the scene of Cortés' last great battle with "los de Culua" as he escaped into Tlaxcala, the frontiers of which lay near by.

Pachuca (1) at first belonged to the Acolhuaque, and later was shared by them with the Mexica."

Quauhyocan appears in another source as "San Marcos Quacyocan" and "Quauhyoca." It was subject to Acolman, but no further detail is given."

Teacalco appears on the map of the State of Mexico of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotihuacan, at first a Chichimec republic in the Tepanec sphere, was conquered by Nezahualcoyotl—who eventually had to share it with the Mexica."

Tepepulco "parte terminos" with Tulançinco, in the adjacent province of Atotonilco el Grande, and Hueyotlipan, pertaining to enemy Tlaxcala." Paso y Troncoso has pointed out Tepepulco's close association with Texcoco." It was in Tepepulco that Sahagún began to gather materials for his vast ethnographic work."

Tetlyztaca may be located from references. According to the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 151), Tulançinco was four leagues to the [north]east, Tepepulco two leagues to the southeast, and Cenpoala one and one-half to the west: "... los pueblos comarcanos son tulançingo cuatro leguas acia levante tepeapulco dos leguas entre leuante y sur la congregación de Cenpoala legua y media cay açia el poniente." Tetlyztaca lay near Tepechupilco [? now Tepechichilco]. [131]

" Cf. n. 82 below.

" *PNE*, 6: 210, 212.

" *PNE*, 6: 221: "En tienpo de su gentilidad fueron gente y republica sobre si, sin reconocer a nadie sino a sus señores naturales que llamaban chichimecas, hasta que Nesagualcoyotzin, señor de Tescuco, tiranizo toda la comarca matando a los hijos de Tetzotzomoctli, señor de Escaputzalco a quien todos reconocian, por guerra, e despues de su muerte de Tetzotzomoctli el dicho Netzagualcoyotzi se hizo poderoso aliandose con Montesuma señor de Mexico; repartieron las tierras del pueblo de San Juan."

" *PNE*, 6: 393.

" *PNE*, 6: 297.

" Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: xvii.

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632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[70] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it."

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México."

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[73] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the 131 province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

[70] RHE, 1: 152.
[71] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.
[72] Cf. n. 82 below.
[73] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de tezcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

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TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD [263]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632 ● 651 of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412] After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.[a]

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412] Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.[a]

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

[a] RHE, 1:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antesesor de monteçuma fue el primero que mando tributasen gantas gallinas y todo genero de bolateria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Monteçuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

[a] RHE, 1:142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonzes se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y tenanzcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

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632 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called
651 "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.[88] However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*[89] gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, *circa* 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomitl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao
[262] of Xoconochco (2,400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.[90]

[326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."[91]

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se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

[88] *PNE*, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

[89] Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ...," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

[90] *PNE*, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del rreynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodon de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodon de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacao de a beinte e quatro myll cacaos carga, de zoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

[91] RHE, 1: 152.

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635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

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We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula*, were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atlpoyecan is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

Quauhnahuac. That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[32] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[33]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[34] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[35]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[36]

[32] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ..."

[33] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[35] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[36] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matricula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl toztli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

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651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

[323
289]

OTHER GOODS

2,000 pottery bowls**
8,000 reams of native paper**

651
632

Tribute of the component towns.—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling.

[128]

This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present

103

place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayoxochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

** *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

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MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloztoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilcaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición."

Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[39] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[40] but cannot be found today.

[39] *FNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la prinçipall subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilco."

[40] *FNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopualco [Nepozualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

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632 *Tetela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoztlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[a]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[b] and Yacapichtla.[c] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[d]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[e] and so were the Tlalhuica.[f]

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[a] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[b] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[c] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimillco."

[d] See pp. 76–77.

[e] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimillco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[f] See pp. 76–77.

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[m] while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[n]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[o] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[p]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

[m] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[n] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Taxcala, Chclula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[o] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[p] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

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651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[30]
[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[31]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

Sources of the Map

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-
[128] eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlā, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlā, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

Remarks on Towns

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco*, according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[32]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[33]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[34] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[35]

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[30] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[31] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[32] *PNE*, 5: 210.
[33] *GPM*, p. 112.
[34] *PNE*, 5: 250.
[35] *GPM*, p. 104.

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This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

16 pieces of colored lacquer
268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[88]

25. Quiauhteopan

Sources of the Map

On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

Remarks on Towns

Quauhtecomatla may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[89] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[90]

Quiauhteopan was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[91] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[88] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[89] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[90] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[91] *PNE*, 5: 210.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal–Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *FNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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632
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[314]

half the honey formerly paid by the province, according to the *Matricula*). Besides this, two special milpas were cultivated and their yield was sent to the near-by mines of Ayoteco."[a]

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 437: "Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias quinientos y veinte y ocho pesos y dos tomines de tipuzque, y catorce xiquipiles de cacao y seis mill y doxientos y ochenta cacaos, y esto dan al dicho su amo en dineros que son quatroçientos y çinquenta pesos, y ocho ziquipiles de cacao y sesenta xarrillos de miel, y cada año le hazen dos sementeras de maiz y se lo ponen en las minas de Ayoteco." On *tipuzque*, see Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (1883), II: 7, and Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (1890), II: 416 and 450.

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

633 *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

712 *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[3]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montezuma."[4] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[5]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[6]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[7]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[8] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[2] *GPM*, p. 9; *ENE*, 14: 79.

[3] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepequa [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[4] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[*]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[**31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/A] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. QUAUHTOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Totoltan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

[1/A Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

175 *Tuchçonco,* though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[31]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[32]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[33] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[34]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[35] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[36] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

291 400 large mantles**

[31] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵒ cuescomatepeque de la jurisdizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[32] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[33] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[34] Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[36] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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651

FOOD [262]

20 loads of cacao*

OTHER GOODS [248]

1,600 bales of cotton*

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632 ●
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^{d} hago mrd a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^{o} de myctlanquauda media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

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Teoçiocan is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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29. Tochtepec

Sources of the Map

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in northeastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matriculc*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Coçamaloapã, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpã, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Toztlan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Teteutlan
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlã	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michtlan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

Remarks on Towns

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

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tricula, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a Moteçuma,"[88] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[89] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[90] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

Puctlan. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province. One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[91] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[92]

Tochtepec was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés show.[93] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[94]

Tototepec may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.

Yxmatlatlan appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla *(q.v.)*.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[95] The chief language of the

[88] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[89] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[90] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por si, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[91] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[92] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[93] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[94] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[95] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

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OTHER GOODS

16,000 rubber balls
100 pots of liquidambar
24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[39]

CLOTHING

40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

2,000 rubber balls
400 measures of cochineal

Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[40]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

Tribute of the component towns.—Even more detailed information may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[41]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[39] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[40] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quecholtan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Oztatitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[41] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites."[a]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified."[b]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique."[c]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula,* and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino.* Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[a] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE,* 5: 2).

[b] *PNE,* 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[c] *PNE,* 4: 47–48: "obedesçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18r) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[b]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[b]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[b]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[c]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[d]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81, identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
483 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.
[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.
[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."
[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.
[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."
[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."
[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.
[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ymfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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32. YOALTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40r of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalā (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayā (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[30] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[31] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[32]

[30] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Motectzuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[31] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[32] *PNE*, 1: No. 6.

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632 [712] *Ayoxochiquilazala* seems to have been the anchor of the Empire in this region. A local Mexican garrison consumed all the tribute, which never reached Mexico.[19]

Ehuacalco, suggests Troncoso,[20] may be the Calihualá [Cal-eual-lan] of today. The proposed identification seems reasonable.

Patlanalan is a name which apparently survives only in documents. The town was subject to Tonalá (a) and was half a league from "Çilacajoapa."[21]

Piaztla was probably "Old Piaztlan" (Huehuepiaztlan), which lay to the west of the site of the modern town. Among the towns subject to Piaztla in 1581—and probably also linked with it in 1519—were Tuzantlan (c) and Ilamatzinco (b). These appear on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, 1908.

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Yxicayan became "Xicayan de Tovar" in colonial days.[22] It confined with Puctla and Tlacomayztlauaca,[23] which are the Putla Santa Maria and Tecomaxtlahuacan of today. Xicayan de Tovar was nine leagues southwest of "Instlauaca" (Juxtlahuaca)[24] and four leagues in the same direction from Ayoxochiquilazala.[25] Northeast of the ancient Acuitlapan, Guerrero, are a C. Jicayan and a R. Jicayan which indicate the site. It should be pointed out that the Jicayán of today (near Tlacamama), also existing in the sixteenth century,[26] is a quite different pueblo.

Ycpatepec, which enjoyed a certain pre-Hispanic fame, may be located by piecing together a variety of references. Though it is described in the relación of Cuauhuitlan along with towns of the modern district of Jamiltepec on the Oaxaca coast, it is stated to be no less than thirty-five leagues to the northeast of those towns,[27] beyond a sierra, in the Mixteca Baja.[28] Elsewhere it is given as ten leagues from Mixtepec

[19] See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
[20] *PNE,* 5: 238.
[21] *PNE,* 5: 238; *GPM,* p. 20. Its estancias were called Guastepec and Santa Clara.
[22] *PNE,* 1: No. 810; *GPM,* p. 65; *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[23] *PNE,* 1: No. 810.
[24] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 137.
[25] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[26] *PNE,* 1: No. 808.
[27] *PNE,* 4: 158.
[28] *PNE,* 4: 155: "muy apartado [de Cuahuitlan] porque cae en la provincia de la Mixteca Baja." Its encomendero was Francisco de Alfaro.

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(subject to Tlaxiaco)[80] and three leagues from "Cilacayoapan."[81] With all this information, the town may be placed fairly well. In the present map it is identified tentatively with Montañas, a town on the Oaxaca map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.[82] This lies south of Silacayoapam and may have fallen under the jurisdiction of south-lying Cuauhuitlan.[83]

Ychcaatoyac, which has not been found, is also called "Atojocinapa" in a list which names its encomendero as "el hijo de Pierres Gómez."[84]

Yoaltepec has been located from references only. When the Mexicans invaded the south, they took, in succession, the towns of Oaxtepec, Izucar, and Youaltepec.[85] "Ygualtepec" (the name suffered the same change as Yoallan–Iguala) was held by the encomendero of Ayoxochiquilazala.[86] The clearest reference, however, comes from a document dealing with Piaztla, which places Yoaltepec ten leagues straight south of that town.[87]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—With Yoaltepec we enter the Mixtec provinces. A codex in purely Mixtec style, for example, is preserved from Tecomaixtlahuacan,[88] and the relación of that town[89] tells us it is of Mixtec speech, as proves to be true of Ycpatepec.[90] The northern part of the province, on the other hand, seems to have been mexicano rustico, "because it is the province of Totolan"—a quite mysterious reference.[91]

[80] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 142–143.
[81] *GPM*, p. 20; *PNE*, 5: 238.
[82] Ycpatepec was celebratedly mountainous.
[83] Three hints which may lead to its exact identification at a later time are: (*a*) the linking of "Hycpatepeque" with Tlacotepec, Tepexillo, and Los Remedios in a list of "Curatos Mixtecos" of the reign of Philip V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Mex. MS No. 8, fol. 221); (*b*) the Mixtec name, "yucu yua" ("Relación of Cuahuitlan," *PNE*, 4: 158) or "yucu nuuyuh" (Reyes, *Arte en lengua mixteca* [1889], p. 90); and, finally (*c*), the names of the estancias of Ycpatepec (*PNE*, 5: 238), which are Santa Maria, Santiago, and San Juan. (*PNE*, 4: 155, adds San Pablo.)
[84] *ENE*, 9: 17.
[85] Discussed in the writer's forthcoming chronological study.
[86] Lc., García de Aguilar. See *GPM*, p. 157.
[87] *PNE*, 5: 77: "al sur tiene al pueblo de Ygualtepec questa desta cabeçera dies leguas, toda tierra entre doblada y llana y caminos derechos." In the same document Acatlan is placed at five leagues from Piaztla.
[88] Published in Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Geog., Vol. 4 (1930), Appendix I.
[89] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 136.
[90] *PNE*, 4: 158.
[91] *PNE*, 5: 78.

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635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[a]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[b]

● 632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[c]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust,[d]

[a] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[b] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[c] As in Ocelótepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y esentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acuitlapā, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Chipetlan, 1	Chiepetlán
Malinaltepec, 6	[No change]
Tetenanco, 3	Tenango Tepexi
Tlapā, 4	Tlapa
Totomixtlahuacā, 5	Totomixtlahuaca
Ychcateopā, 2	Ixcateopan

The remaining seven towns of the *Matricula* cannot be located with any certainty, though there are some additional data available regarding them. These towns are:

Acocozpā	Huitzannola
Ahuacatla	Ocoapan
Amaxac	Xocotla

Yualan

On the other hand, we may confidently add and locate the following subject towns, thanks to another source: Ayutla (8), Cintla (?) (10), Copalitech (11), and Tototepec (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acuitlapan* is the Quitlapa of today, located southeast of Metlatonoc in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. It is described in colonial days as "Cuytlapa," twelve leagues from Tlapan.[a]

Ahuacatla, not located, was five leagues from Tlapan, according to a report which gives it as "Ahuacatitlan."[b]

Amaxac probably corresponds to "Atlemaxac" or "Atlimaxax," which was a cabecera one league from Tlapan.[c]

Ayutla was clearly tributary,[d] and with it a series of seaboard towns including Cintla and Copalitech.[e]

Cintla seems to have lain close to the modern Juchitán(a).[f] It was one of the seaboard towns subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).

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[a] *GPM*, p. 106; *PNE*, 1: No. 217.
[b] *GPM*, p. 101.
[c] *GPM*, p. 101; *PNE*, 1: No. 82.
[d] *PNE*, 4: 260: "aquel pueblo de Ayutla antiguamente era de Motecçuma, [con] todos los demas pueblos de la jurisdiçion que fueron sugetos."
[e] *PNE*, 4: 259: "antes que se ganase la tierra, eran todos los pueblos maritimos sujetos al dicho pueblo de Ayutla."
[f] Identification by the writer, in "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 361.

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[632]

Huitzaunola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan."

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala," which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."" The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montezuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast.[632] [712] [101]

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan" and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo.[632] [131]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."" It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers," as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla-[101] [197]

" *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser marítimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

" *GPM*, p. 106.

" *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

" *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

" *GPM*, p. 98.

" *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Nāhuatl.

" *GPM*, p. 27.

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses**
402 bundles** of little red-striped mantles**
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger-skins; fish and cotton.** In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove."

* Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

** Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

** *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçisco de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

" *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarteuta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

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Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72]

34. Tlachquiauco

Sources of the Map

The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Achiodan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

Remarks on Towns

Mixtepec was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesen[illegible] y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruiçio cada dia y una gallina al Calpizque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

Tlapc. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted - Analyst]

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in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atlatlaucca was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[70] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Coayxtlahuacan was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[71]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[70] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Muteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llama ran 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[71] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlaueca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

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paying tribute, but "the lords of Chila, when it pleased them to," ex- 632 ●
changed presents with Moctezuma.[99]

Icxitlan was a subject town which gave no tribute beyond feeding the highland troops that passed through it.[100]

Malinaltepec (10) sent its tribute to Coayxtlahuacan.[101] This Malinal- [131]
tepec, which is stated to lie eight leagues northeast of Atlatlaucca and five leagues west of "los Yolos" [Yoloxonecuilan], appears on Bevan's map.[102] It should not be confused with the nearest of several homonyms, that is, with the Malinaltepec southwest of Atlatlaucca.

Mictlan, as Jiménez Moreno has pointed out,[103] must be the present Mitlatongo.

Papaloticpac paid tribute to its cacique, and he to Moctezuma;[104] probably the Papalotiquipaque of the sixteenth century[105] is one of two towns called Papalo today, southeast of Quiotepec.

Petlaltzinco, like Icxitlan, paid its tribute by supplying the armies of the Empire with food and men.[106]

Tepeucila had been subjected by Moctezuma shortly before the Spaniards arrived.[107]

Xaltepec appears on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Yancuitlan may be found on the 1912 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Çoçolan was conquered by the younger Moctezuma, as will be de- [712]
tailed in the second part of this work. It is mentioned as a garrison town on folio 17' of the *Mendocino*, with two governors—a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli" (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

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[99] *PNE*, 5: 66: "era subieto al ymperio de la ciudad de México ... embialle [a Moctezuma] los senores de Chila, quando les agradaua, algunos presentes de joyas de oro y mantas," etc.

[100] *PNE*, 5: 75.

[101] See Atlatlaucca, above.

[102] Bevan, *The Chinantec* (1938).

[103] *Códice de Yanhuitlán* (1940).

[104] *PNE*, 4: 90: "tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma ... que llevavan a las guarniciones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra."

[105] *PNE*, 4: 88.

[106] "El dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo pasauan bastimentos, y asi mismo servian con alguna gente de guerra, y no otra cosa alguna" (*PNE*, 5: 70).

[107] *PNE*, 4: 95: "Al tienpo que vinieron los españoles era Señor natural de este pueblo vn canique que se dezia canchuchu camiñaa, y en tienpo de este lo sujeto Monteçuma."

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OTHER GOODS[a]

2 strings of chalchiuites
800 bunches of quetzal feathers
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni*
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

[316
231]

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 632 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which served as money. They also gave military aid.[b] [436]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.[c]

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.[d]

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.[e]

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.[f]

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[a] *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescatauan a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Muntecçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

[b] *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

[c] See Chila, above.

[d] *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

[e] "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

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632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[99]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[100]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[101]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[102]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44r. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotitlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[99] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco pasauan bastimentos."

[100] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que compravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[101] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecçuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[102] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de zuzula."

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Besides the towns identified, many lesser subject towns, discovered through sources other than the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy, should also be listed:

Atepec, 2
Coatlan, 33
Cuixtlan, 32
Chichicapan, 30
Eztetlan (?), 13
Huiztepec, 15
Itzquintepec, 12
Iztepexi, 8
Miahuatlan, 31
Mictlan, 28
Ocelotepec
Quauxiloticpac, 14
Tecuicuilco, 5
Teotitlan del Valle, 23
Teotzacualco, 11
Teozapotlan, 25
Tlacolula, 27
Tlaliztacan, 20
Totomachapa, 16
Xaltianguisco, 4
Xilotepec, 17
Yoloxonecuilan, 1
Zenzontepec, 18
Çoquiapan, 7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atepec and three neighbors "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[100]

Coatlan, in some unspecified period, rebelled against its chief and sent ambassadors to Mexico to arrange its incorporation into the Empire.[101] Today the town seems to have broken up into a cluster of satellites, of which a rough center has been taken for the map.

Coyolapan, now Cuilapa, ought really to be called "Quacuyolapan"—if we are to trust the relación of that town.[102]

Chichicapan first belonged to Teozapotlan, but was fighting off attacks from Mixtec neighbors at the moment of the Spanish Conquest, at which time its inhabitants settled matters by allying themselves with Moctezuma.[103]

Cuixtlan (32) warred with Tetiquipa to the south, and this may possibly indicate the limits between the province of Coyolapan and the free Mixtec state of Tototepec.[104]

[100] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 123. Tecuicuilco, Atepec, Çoquiapa, Xaltiango: "Todos estos quatro Pueblos Reconocian por Rey a munteçuma el qual los Abia conquistado Por fuerças de armas."

[101] *PNE,* 4: 123: "Este dicho pueblo y sus naturales en su antiguedad eran sujetos a vn caçique que se llamaba Coactzi ... hasta que les hizo çierto agrabio y se rebelaron contra el, y ... enbiaron parias a la çuidad de Mexico a Monteçuma ... el qual los recibyo debaxo de su anparo."

[102] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 22.

[103] *PNE,* 4: 115.

[104] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 115.

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632 [712] *Extetlan* was near the modern Tepantepec.[355]

Guaxacac (as Huaxac[ac]) is one of the garrison towns mentioned on folio 17ʳ of the *Mendocino* (cf. chap. viii, no. 37) as being governed by a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli." The fortress was actually located on the Cerro del Fortin (Acatepec or Ecatepec), according to the "Relación de Cuilapa" (*Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 20).

Huiztepec and certain neighboring towns together paid tribute to Moctezuma.

Itzquintepec was a town the identification of which involves the whole question of the "pueblos peñoles." Probably we may identify it with the modern town of Peñoles.

Iztepexi recalled in the 1580's that "certain Mexica" had overcome them, whereupon they paid double tribute, as the Mixtec also exploited them.[356]

Macuilxochic remembered only being subject to Teozapotlan,[357] but figures along with the rest of the Empire in the *Matricula*.

Mictlan (28), since it was subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to the Mexica.[358]

Ocelotepec was a town the inhabitants of which "anciently had Moctezuma, lord of Mexico, as their lord."[359]

Quauxiloticpac, now Huajoloticpac, is derived from "quauxilotl"

[355] A collective relación which includes this and the two following pueblos exists (*RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 185–191). Six pueblos in all are listed, in this order: Itzquintepec, Eztetla, Quauxoloticpac [*sic*], Huictepec [*sic*], Totomachapa, and Jilotepec, "los quales estan como aqui van puestos uno en pos de otro y corren norte sur." Now three of these appear on any map: No. 3, Quaxoloticpac (11 leagues from Antequera or Oaxaca City), is Huajolotipac; No. 4, Huiztepec (12 leagues from Antequera), is Huitepec; and No. 6, Jilotepec (17 leagues from Antequera and defined as "çerro al modo de una mazorca de maiz"), is Elotepec. In view of these three fixed points, Itzquintepec (6 leagues from Antequera and 9 leagues from Teotzacualco) is most likely the modern Peñoles. Eztetla (lying between Itzquintepec and Quauxoloticpac and 7 leagues from Teotzacualco) should fall somewhere near modern Tepantepec. And, finally, Totomachapa (like Jilotepec, 10 leagues from Zola) is perhaps the modern Yucucando. (Totomachapa was 8 leagues from Teotzacualco, and Jilotepec only 6.) All these six pueblos peñoles "Jueron ... en tiempo de su jentilidad de monteçuma señor de mexico al qual tributaban oro y mantas de algodon."

[356] *PNE*, 4: 16: "ciertos mexicanos los subjetaron por mandado del Señor de Mexico ... enpeçaron a tributarles asi a los mexicanc . questauan en Guaxaca por Monteçuma, y a los mistecos por el señorio que sobrellos tenian, temiendose de los unos y de los otros ... ."

[357] *PNE*, 4: 102: "El gobierno que tenian hera lo que les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... ." See Teozapotlan, below.

[358] *PNE*, 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, below.

[359] *PNE*, 4: 138: "en su antigüedad tenyan por senor a Monteçuma, señor de Mexico ... ."

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in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the proper spelling.

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Mocteçuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[330]

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teozapotlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[331] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula*.

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma a few years before the Spanish invasion.[332]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teozapotlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[333] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[334] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican garrison "only in order to be friendly."[335] Tribute is tribute.

[330] *PNE*, 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles biniesen, a Moteçuma."

[331] *PNE*, 4: 105.

[332] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto montesuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[333] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[334] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE*, 4: 102: " ... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula*; also, by the relación of Teticpac (*PNE*, 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Monteçuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula*.

[335] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo suian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran

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632 *Tecuicuilco* owned Moctezuma as lord after being conquered by force of arms.[116]

Teticpac was subject to Teozapotlan, and later to Moctezuma.[117]

Tlalcuechahuayan may be found on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Tlacolula, by virtue of having been subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to Moctezuma.[118]

Tlaliztacan is another subject of Teozapotlan, and therefore, it is to be inferred, of the Mexicans also.[119]

Totomachapa may be found on the 1912 map of Oaxaca made by the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Xaltianguisco, the Jaltianguis Santa Maria of today, is cited under its old name in a document of Ixtepexi,[120] as well as in several other places.

Xilotepec was one of the "pueblos peñoles," all of which were subject to the Empire.[121]

Yoloxonecuilan was a town the name of which has atrophied to "los Yolos." In its earlier form the name of this place appears in the conquest lists of the Empire, jointly with the names of such towns as Xaltianguisco and Itztitlan (6) (Ixtlán de Juárez?). Yoloxonecuilan had, moreover, the same cura as Atepec.[122]

Zenzontepec appears late in the conquest lists of the Empire.

Çoquiapan and certain neighboring towns are said to have "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[123]

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[651] guerroros por si, y Montecuma que era el Señor de Mexico: de todos estos tres solo auia aqui quando vinieron los españoles vna guarniçion juncto adonde es aora la ciudad de Antequera, la qual guarniçion era de Montecçuma: esta dizen los yndios que avia puesto alli por via de buena amistad y sin guerra, para pasar por alli adelante a Tecoantepec y Guatimala ... y dizen que a estos mexicanos no les dauan ningun tributo, sino por via de amistad, sino que el rrey de Teoçapotlan se tenia su señorio absolutamente."

[116] See Atepec, above.

[117] *PNE,* 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, above.

[118] *PNE,* 4: 145: "en tiempo de su ynfidelidad, tuuieron por señor al señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan el qual hera señor de toda esta tierra." See, however, Teozapotlan, above.

[119] *PNE,* 4: 179: "en tiempo de su gentilidad, tenia por señor al caçique e señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan." See Teozapotlan, above.

[120] *PNE,* 4: 20: "Santianquisco, questa dos leguas deste dicho pueblo hazia el norte." A relación of the town appears in *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 123.

[121] See Itzquintepec, above.

[122] *GPM,* pp. 92–93.

[123] See Atepec, above.

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651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Certain elements of the fore-
632 going tribute may be traced.

Atepec, Çoquiapan, Tecuicuilco, and Xaltianguisco acquired the
439 tribute items exacted from them—green (quetzal?) feathers and chalchiuites—by barter with other regions.[117]

Coatlan gave gold and mantles, receiving military protection in return. (The gold tribute was three marks of gold dust quarterly in early colonial days.[118])

Eztetlan and five other towns jointly paid a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[119]

Huiztepec, as one of the "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

Itzquintepec gave part of a joint tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Iztepexi, which had two masters, Mixtec and Mexican,[120] paid them tribute in base gold, green feathers, deer, maize, and turkeys; also, its inhabitants rendered personal services to the Mexican garrison near Oaxaca. The gold and feathers were acquired in a unique fashion, being earned by going to the Isthmus and working six months or a year there cultivating lands.[121]

Ocelotepec gave gold dust and mantles and cochineal, "all in small quantities and once a year," and received in return mantles, sandals, and feathers of many colors.[122] This exceptional treatment was doubt-

[117] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123, speaks of "çierto tributo que le pagaban en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de Plumas verdes y Piedras verdes" obtained in trade.

[118] *PNE*, 4: 133. To Moctezuma "le tributaban oro en polbo y mantas, y el tenya quidado denbialles sienpre gente de guarnyçion." To their colonial encomendero "segun dizen los antiguos naturales cada yndio tributaba en cada ochenta dyas tres marcos de oro en polbo."

[119] For the tribute of this and the two following towns, see n. 105 above.

[120] See n. 106 above.

[121] *PNE*, 4: 16. Suffering from double demands, "les pagauan de tributo oro bazo y plumeria verde y benados que tomauan en los montes y mayz y gallinas de la tierra, y leña, acudiendo con servicios personales a los mexicanos en Guaxaca ... ," all without fixed tribute dates, "y la plumeria y oro que asi tributauan lo yban a buscar a Teguantepeque y a la provincia de Soconusco e Guatemala, arquilandose en carga mercadurias de mercaderes y en beneficiar y cultivar tierras en la dicha provincia donde se detenian seys y siete meses y vn año, y otros se ocupauan en lo que por los señores y caçiques deste pueblo les hera mandado, y por lo susodicho les pagauan oro y plumas verdes, y ello trayan y guardauan para pagar se tributo, y por tener a dos señores a quien acudir con los dichos tributos muchas veces quedauan confusos, y no osauan rebelarse contra ellos porque no los destruyesen a todos."

[122] *PNE*, 4: 138. Ocelotepec "en su antigüedad tenyan por señor a monteçuma, señor de Mexico, al qual tributaban oro en polbo y mantas de que ellos se bisten, y grana, todo en poca cantidad, y en cada vn años [*sic*] vna vez, lo qual el reçebia ... y el les enbiaba otras cosas de mas balor como eran mantas y los 'cactles' que ellos traen, y plumas de muchas colores."

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less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier.

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[118]

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.[119]

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves.[120]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison.[121]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.[122]

Tlacolula gave military service only.[123]

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.[124]

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[125]

Xilotepec, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.[126]

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[118] See Itzquintepec, above.

[119] *PNE*, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, ques vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

[120] *PNE*, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

[121] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

[122] *PNE*, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

[123] *PNE*, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

[124] *PNE*, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

[125] See n. 105 above.

[126] See n. 105 above.

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
7/2 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
● 632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located;
[128] and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen on the 1: 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran monteçuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de gustimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

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but this space may be filled very precisely with the administratively 635
separate center of Tlatelolco and its dependencies. The position given to Tlatelolco in the *Matricula* (the American Philosophical Society fragment) and in the *Mendocino* (fol. 19r constitutes a problem with which the writer has dealt elsewhere.[2]

A glance at the map will explain why the Çitlaltepec group and Tlatelolco have been treated together here, although administratively they formed separate tributary provinces.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

The Lake of Texcoco formed the common geographic denominator 131
of these towns.

Acalhuacan, with its miniscule population of forty houses, was the 632
subject of a dispute between the encomendero of Quauhtitlan (BX, 2) and the natives of Tlatelolco in the year 1537,[3] and the record of this dispute is sufficiently enlightening to enable one to find the approximate location of Acalhuacan. Since it was disputed along with Atzompan, it has been placed, like that town, to the north of the Sierra de Guadalupe, but on the western (Quauhtitlan) side of the lake—all quite provisionally. The name, "Place of Canoe-Owners," indicates the lacustrine site.

Acolnahuac (located after the printing of the map) was a point on the Azteca-Mexica migration route—now San Bernabé, on the Calzada de Camarones, between Azcapotzalco and the Nonoalco highway.[4]

Coatlayauhcan is mentioned by at least one source, "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," as one of the stopping places of the migrating Azteca-Mexica.

Huixachtitlan probably lay a little south of Xaloztoc. Studies made after the printing of the map indicate that it lay on the migration route of the *Códice Huitzilopochtli,* between Tequepayuca (now Cerro de

[2] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 204–207.

[3] "Carta de los indios principales," in S. Montoto, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América* (1927), I: 84. It is also mentioned in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), par. 472.

[4] Barlow, "Los caciques coloniales de Tlatelolco," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1944), 3: 552–553.

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632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208–213.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

● 632 An extensive zone to the south of Lake Chalco is rendered uninhabitable by the lava flow, or "Pedregal," emitted by the Ajusco Mountains, which form the valley rim. If any small settlements existed in this area, their tribute was probably reckoned as a part of that collected from some major town in the region of Xochimilco or Tepoztlan.

[133 311]

Auchpanco is identified by Acosta with Ayapango.

Colhuacacinco,[8] later San Cristobal, lay on the shore of Lake Xaltocan, east of Tzonpanco (2).

Olac is a barrio of Xochimilco.[9]

632 114 *Petlacalcatl* is the inscription under the glyph of a house made of grass mats, in the *Mendocino*. It occupies the usual place of the cabecera in the manuscript, and like all the other towns was originally followed by the word "pu[ebl]o." A later hand has struck this out and has replaced it with the word "gobernador," perhaps under the influence of the double (and doubtful) annotation about "Acolhuacā" and "Acolmecatl calpixqui" (tribute collector) which heads Acolhuacan Province.

That something is wrong is evident from the form of the original annotation. It is probably a place glyph, but the annotation takes the form of a personal glyph. I have chosen to read it as Petlacal*co*. The result is the same, for the Petlacalcatl, on the facing *Mendocino* page, was a head tribute collector, and the Petlacalco[10] was the "audiencia" building in the Tenochtitlan palace, which also housed a majordomo in charge of the granaries.[11]

632 *Tezcacoac*[12] is a barrio of Tepotzotlan, and consequently we should judge that it lay north of Tecoloapan (7).

[8] Located after the printing of the map, "dista del pueblo de Tiçayuca vna legua hazia el sueste" (*PNE*, 3: 44 and n. 2).

[9] Olaguibel, *Onomatología del estado de México* (1894), p. 96.

[10] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], I: 166.

[11] *Ibid.*, II: 311.

[12] Located after the printing of the map; it is mentioned in the Ayer "Fragment of a Village Book," and, as Texcacoa, in García Cubas' *Diccionario*.